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LUCIFER.

THE LIGHT-BEARER.

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ON READING TOLSTOI'S "RESURRECTION."

Hearken the voice that grave and low
Tells of the way wherein we shall go:

"He that hath ears, let him hear the word;
Make a path in the desert for Love, the Lord.

The earth is filled with shouting and strife;
Man wrestles with man for land and life.

You cheer the fighters, you praise the bold,
You smile on the strong as he gathers his gold,

But beneath the strugglers the prostrate lie,
Your cheers are drowning their bitter cry.

With hunger the cheek of the child is wan,
The boy grows a brute ere he grows a man.

The wanton's leer, in your city streets,
The sodden face of the drunkard greets.

From the chill and gloom of the prison cell
Break the captive's groan and the maniac's yell.

But the walls of your houses are not so thin
As to let these discords enter in.

And, muffled up safe from the blast of the storm,
You are sure your hearts are soft and warm.

When you throw to the crippled beggar his dole—
There are sores on his body, a curse to his soul.

Yet on your soul lies a curse more dread,
For your life at ease is the life of the dead;

Though the jewel of price and the garment of pride
May seemly the spots of corruption hide."

"He that hath ears let him hear the word—
Open the door to Love, the Lord.

Love, the Lord, at the threshold stands,
The bloodstains are bloody on feet and hands.

He will raise to your lips his cup of pain,
And for pleasure you never shall thirst again.

Upon your brows, for a coronet,
Shall the twisted wreath of thorns be set.

Counting the treasure of earth as dross,
You shall leave the gold to claim the cross.

And the joy of life shall be woe to share,
Its glory the sin of the world to bear.

Open the prison and break the sword,
He that shall conquer is Love, the Lord."

—*Eliza Ritchie, in "Conservator."*

Individualistic Anarchism Opposed to Force.

BY DR. RUDOLPH STEINER.

The individualistic Anarchist wishes that no man should be prevented by anything from developing the forces and faculties latent in him. The individuals are to assert themselves in a perfectly free competitive struggle. The existing State has no taste for this competitive struggle. Step by step, it prevents the individual from developing his faculties. It hates the individual. It says: I have use only for a man who conducts himself so and so. Whoever is different must be compelled to conform. Now, the State thinks men will agree among themselves only if it is said to them: "Thus you must be; and, if you are not so, then you must be so—anyway." The individualistic Anarchist, on the other hand, holds that the best conditions will be evolved, if people are allowed a free course. He is confident that they will find the right way themselves. He does not believe, of course, that there would be no more pickpockets day after tomorrow, if the State should be abolished tomorrow. But he knows that people cannot be prepared for liberty by authority and force. He knows this,—that the way is made free for the most independent people by removing all force and authority.

But the present States are founded on force and authority. The individualistic Anarchist is hostile to them, because they suppress liberty. All he demands is the free, untrammeled development of forces. He wishes to remove the force which hinders free development. He knows that at the last moment, when Social Democracy shall draw its conclusions, the State will call into requisition its cannons. The individualistic Anarchist knows that the authoritarians will at last always resort to coercive measures. But he is convinced that whatever smacks of force is inimical to liberty. Therefore he combats the State, which rests on liberty; and therefore he combats just as energetically the "propaganda by deed," which rests no less on force. If the State beheads or imprisons a man on account of his convictions, the proceeding, call it whatever one will, is execrable in the eyes of the individualistic Anarchist. It is no less execrable, of course, when a Luchenı stabs a woman who happens to be the empress of Austria. It is one of the foremost principles of the individualistic Anarchist to combat these things. If he were to approve them, he would have to admit that he does not know why he opposes the State. He combats the force which suppresses liberty; and he combats it as vigorously when the State coerces a libertarian idealist as when an insane, vain fellow assassinates the sympathetic visionary on the imperial throne of Austria.

It cannot be urged explicitly enough against our opponents that the "individualistic Anarchists" emphatically condemn "propaganda by deed." Aside from the coercion practised by States, there is perhaps nothing that is so repugnant to these Anarchists as the Caserios and Luchenis.

—*From the Magazine fur Litteratur.*

A Democratic View of Postal Censorship.

Commenting on the Chicago "Chronicle's" recommendation of a strict postal censorship whereby Anarchistic literature could be ruled out of the mails, a correspondent says in that paper:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRONICLE:—I am surprised at the "Chronicle" advocating more postal censorship. We have already too much. As soon as the principle that the postal department transmits nothing but pounds, ounces and dollars is violated we are in Russian conditions. The platform of all liberal parties in Germany, France, Austria, England, Holland, Sweden and Spain contains as one of the most sacred paragraghs and issues: Respect for the privacy and the intellectual contents of the mail!

The fight for uncensored postal service was especially fierce in Europe between 1830 and 1856, and today the mails of France contain absolutely no restriction as to intellectual contents. We have fallen behind in postal liberty even of Germany. The Democratic party should raise the extremely proper issue of: Uncensored mail! Why should there be made another law excluding "Anarchist literature?" "Turn the rascals out" was the slogan of Cleveland's first campaign. Any postmaster might interpret this as "Anarchistic" and stop all mail having allusions to it. No matter, if finally the courts decide the postmaster was wrong, it is notorious that any call on the courts is outrageously disagreeable, expensive, unsatisfactory and the offending postmaster is unattackable and unremovable. He becomes a despot of greater power than the postmaster general of France, who can be turned out of office in twenty-four hours. You cannot define "Anarchistic" strictly enough. Because some weak men misuse thinfis does not lead us to abolish revolvers, cyanide of potassium, razors, ropes, carbolic acid, even pictures and novels.

We cannot put a whole nation into a figurative prison because we cannot pick out those who ought to be there. There ought to be absolute defense for the postal authorities to take cognizance of the intellectual contents of the mail, and the offenses which now are committed by objects passing through the mail should be attacked from another direction. It is a silly logic to say the government makes itself a partner when it transports "Anarchistic literature." No more than the paper mill that makes the paper on which it was printed, the press which printed it, the letter carrier who carried it, the stamp stuck on it. These far-fetched responsibilites are the childish pretenses of petty tyrants to inflict their micro-intellectual tyrannies. All "fraud" stamping of letters before the courts have passed on the cases are tyranny pure and simple, are Anarchistic and without due process of law. A postal inspector cannot judge of what is "Anarchistic." As a rule he is not intellectual enough to know the difference between Anarchy, Nihilism, Marxism, Socialism, Communism, etc. That ridiculous lottery law censorship, even the postal censor's construction of obscene literature, are Anarchistic, in direct conflict with al common sense interpretation of our constitution.

Our supreme court which once said black was white and later that white was black (see income tax) must be Anarchistic in one case, or else our constitution is silly twaddle. "Obscene" is so wrongly understood that some postal censors have condemned Mr. Zola's "Fecondite," the most moral book on sexual sociology extant. "Obscene," while often something vulgar and coarse, in reality does far less damage than hayseeds imagine.

It behooves the Democratic party to take up all issues where more liberty rather than less is aimed at and to fight all cunning attempts at suppression, no matter under what specious disguise. There won't be more than 1,000 pounds of Anarchistic literature mailed in a year, and no more than 2,000 or at the most 10,000 will read it. What is the damage? Was it "Anarchy" that made Booth kill Lincoln, Guiteau kill Garfield? Nobody even thought in 1881 to call Conkling responsible for Guiteau's deed. Have our intellects degenerated so far that now we must hold Czolgosz and Harry responsible for Czolgosz' deed? No, the only fair attitude is to call each criminal self-responsible and not enslave a whole nation into a postal censorship because of a few cranks. "Abolish absolutely all postal censorships" should be one and a very attractive plank of the Democratic platform.—*A. C.*

DIVISION OF PUBLICATIONS
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RECEIVED

The Latest Press Outrage.

Under the above title James F. Morton, Jr., writes in "Discontent" of the recent arrests at Home, Washington:

"On Tuesday September 24, a deputy marshal entered the office of 'Discontent,' bearing a warrant for the arrest of C. L. Govan, James W. Adams, J. E. Larkin and G. Morong. The offence charged was that of 'depositing lewd, lascivious and obscene matter in the mails,' to wit, certain issues of 'Discontent.' Comrade Morong is not a member of the colony; but the other three were taken into custody. Our comrades were taken to Spokane, Wash., as provided for in the warrant. Bail was fixed at $1,000 each. This being furnished our comrades were released, and are with us again. The trial will be held before Judge Hanford, of the federal court, in Tacoma, at its regular session, next February.

"The articles complained of are understood to be that of James W. Adams, in No. 128, and especially certain quotations from the 'Prodigal Daughter' contained therein; and that of G. Morong, in No. 149. Both of them are quietly argumentative in tone; and neither one contained a line calculated to inflame sensual passions. There is not a word in either which could offend the most susceptible ear. It is purely and solely a question of the right to express honest opinions on the sex question. The issue could not be more clearly drawn. Every American citizen should be interested in this test case. It is an open secret that a conviction in this case will mean other arrests, and a concerted attempt to destroy all discussion of vital social questions. The goodness or badness of the 'free love' idea is not involved in the contest. It is simply a question of free speech. Those who believe in ignorance, and in the wanton invasion of individual liberty, will be found ranged on the side of the prosecution. Those who believe that knowledge is essential to progress, and that open discussion is the best roadway to knowledge, will support the defence.

"This is no season for indifference. Popular prejudice is relied on to force a conviction. This must be met by a full presentation of the true facts, and of the real animus of the prosecution. The liberties of many others are bound up with the liberties of our persecuted comrades. This case must not be suffered to go by default. It calls for the united support of liberals everywhere, regardless of past divisions. Never mind your personal opinion of 'Discontent' or of its contributors. It is your fight, if you believe in free speech at all. The indicted comrades represent the principle of the liberty of the press."

The new woman in Norway has gained a glorious victory. For many years the Norwegian women have been waging war against the use of the word OBEY in the marriage service of the Norwegian Church, and their labors are at length crowned with success, or at least with a partial success. The Parliament in Christiania has ruled that the use of the obnoxious word shall henceforth not be obligatory upon the bride, but only optional. That is to say, the bride is to be free either to say that she will be "faithful or obedient" or simply to say that she will be "faithful," just as she pleases. And after that she will do as she did before—have her own way.

However, this is a good step in the right direction. Everything that savors of an injunction should be taken out of the marriage ceremony. It is absurd to command people to cherish each other and to make them swear that they will do so. You certainly can swear that you will be faithful to a woman, but you cannot swear that you will love her forever and ever, and as for making a woman take a solemn oath that she will obey her husband, the thing is so absurd that the very best married women will invariably tell you that they have not the slightest recollection that they ever made such a promise.—*Max O'Rell.*

Queries.

"Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." Is it not then an act of impiety in man to take vengeance upon Czolgosz, thereby usurping the Lord's prerogative?

* * *

If McKinley was right when he said, "It is God's way—his will be done," why should Czolgosz be punished for doing God's will?

* * *

If this is a Christian nation, as decided by the Supreme Court, is it right and proper for this nation to kill Czolgosz for killing McKinley when it is remembered that Jesus, the founder of Christianity, abolished the law of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life? and substituted the law of forgiveness and love?

* * *

If Czolgosz believed it to be his "duty," to kill McKinley, will not his electrocution make him a martyr in the eyes of all who believe as he does? And will not his death produce more assassinations of rulers, in accord with the well known principle that the "blood of its martyrs is the seed of the church?"

* * *

Was not the late queen of England more wise than our rulers when she requested that all her would be assassins should be treated as lunatics and not as criminals?

* * *

If all Anarchists ought to be banished or deported because one man calling himself an Anarchist commits murder, why should not all Christians be banished when one of their number commits murder? as in the cases of Guiteau, of Freeman and hundreds of other yearly occurring instances?

* * *

As Czolgosz was born of and educated by Christians, would it not be well to look into Christian sacred literature to see whether there are not instances in which assassination is commended and sanctified? Take the case of Ehud—Judges, third chapter; of Jael, fourth chapter of same book; of Judith, book of Judith and others that might be named, as samples of the glorification and canonization of treacherous assassination. Since our early impressions are most powerful and lasting, is it not more than probable that Czolgosz got his inspiration from the teachings of his church, and not from the text books of Anarchism?

M. H.

A California Outrage.

To the Editor of Lucifer:—In No. 885 attention was called to some unjust arrests. I should like to tell you and your other readers of another one if, as is possible, it has not already come to your notice. It is that of Morrison I. Swift, of Nordhoff, Calif. He is known to most of those who work for social and political regeneration, on both coasts of the continent. I will quote his own account of the arrest.

"It was 'Imperialism and Liberty' that landed me here, two years after birth. Some one happened to get hold of the book about the time of the assassination, and went red, white and blue, and read it to the town, which followed him. Just as if McKinley's death or shooting had anything to do with the truth of the book, or anything to do with it anyhow. But this roused a mob spirit, which I understand even rather scared some of those who raised it. They baited me on my ranch, and were not going to let me change from my thin overalls, with no vest, to a decently warm suit to ride eighteen miles to the chilly ocean by evening. At length I persuaded the constable to let a fruit-picker go up to the house."

I have not heard yet whether Mr. Swift has been released, but rather suppose that he has. The fact that a man could be so arrested and jailed, shows how much protection our institutions give the individual.

S. H. Earle.

Germantown, Phila., 423 Stafford St.

The most charming part of a love affair is the beginning. No wonder that so many people find pleasure in the beginning again.—*Max O'Rell.*

Bird Shot.

Capitalism is welcome to all the advantage it has tried to reap from the Buffalo tragedy. Every turn it has made has tended only to emphasize its brutality.

* * *

It has ransacked the earth in search of a "conspiracy," and has failed at every point. It has attempted almost every means of misrepresentation that the unscrupulous ingenuity of man can devise. It has tortured the imbecile who performed the act. It has poisoned the public mind against liberty and all reform.

* * *

And all for what?—to maintain existing conditions. Capitalism, no longer able to argue its way through, resorts to methods that would bring a flush of shame to the face of the average savage.

* * *

Who is a "freethinker?" Is it one who believes in free speech and free press and is tolerant of the opinions of others? Does H. L. Green, of the "Freethinkers' Magazine," fill this definition? Hardly.

* * *

I have been a close reader of Lucifer for the past twelve years. I have tried carefully to watch its course on all the important issues that have come before the people during this time. From this long acquaintance with this publication I take pleasure in saying that any sane person who will say that Lucifer should be suppressed, or that its editors and contributors have not earned the right to a respectful hearing is too stupid and prejudiced to be a good citizen of any country.

* * *

Evidently Mr. Green belongs in the same camp with the editors of the "Herald and Presbyter," and all similar publications. He has given the proof that the name of his magazine is a lie. He is no freethinker.

* * *

I am not an Anarchist, but all proof goes to show that Philosophical Anarchy is far more rational and humane than is capitalism. I believe in social co-operation; but if this is impos ible of accomplismnent, then why should we not work for Anarchy? All governments today are merely committees of the exploiting classes to do their will.

* * *

Poverty, crime and war are simply effects—not causes—and are as much a part of Capitalism as snow and ice are a part of winter. So long as we have Capitalism there will be assassination. Capitalism produces oppression, and oppression is the harlot-breeder of crime.

* * *

H. L. Green and his misnamed magazine stand for Capitalism. He had better take down his sign and go into the other camp.

Henry E. Allen.

Berwick, Ill.

The Mother Not a Parent.

So says the local government board of education, of Kingston, England. In commenting on this assertion the "Westminister Gazette" says:

"Sir John Gorst, as we noted on Saturday, declares that it is no part of the board of education to interpret acts of parliament. The local government board make no mock modesty o that sort. It not only interprets acts of parliament but apparently assumes the right to dictate to the courts. The Kingston magistrates, we are informed, granted a vaccination certificate to a married woman. A few days later the vaccination officer informed the bench that the local government board had instructed him that the mother of a child was not the parent within the meaning of the act, and to ask for the revocation of the certificate. We are glad to see that the bench refused to take orders from the board in this way and refused to revoke its decision. The local government board has no more authority to dictate to magistrates in this way than a private person has. As for its wonderful discovery that the 'mother of a child is not its parent'—well, since a government department says so, that settles it. It is quite right that we should be accuratel nformed on such matters."

Lucifer, the Lightbearer

M. HARMAN, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

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LUCIFER—The planet Venus; so called from its brightness.—*Webster's Dictionary.*

LUCIFEROUS—Giving Light; affording light or the means of discovery.—*Same.*

LUCIFIC—Producing Light.—*Same.*

LUCIFORM—Having the form of Light.—*Same.*

The name Lucifer means Light-Bringing or Light-Bearing, and the paper that has adopted this name stands for Light against Darkness—for Reason against Superstition—for Science against Tradition—for Investigation and Enlightenment against Credulity and Ignorance—for Liberty against Slavery—for Justice against Privilege.

887.

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When Lucifer fails to reach its subscribers, notice thereof by postal should be sent us at once.

Free Unions and Parental Responsibility.

A correspondent writes us in regard to social ethics in the far west, in part as follows:

EDITOR LUCIFER:—I once was an extreme monogamist and anti-divorce man, but experience compelled me to change my views. Custom is a great thing. In California the law does not interfere with men and women living together. Yet the opportunity is not embraced very often. I have known such couples, and the women preferred it to marriage, and they lived together till death parted them. Still I believe there is less pain to marry than to have your children pointed to as bastards when at school and elsewhere. I say this in the face of the fact that I was compelled to leave ten children simply to get a little peace, and have been a hermit ever since. One child was only two months old—maybe three. Two days before I left I heard my wife say: "You needn't fret, he'll not leave his babies"—this to a daughter who had remonstrated with her about some matter in controversy, when I had threatened to leave. I gave her and the children all the property I had, and yet have the name of being a brute for abandoning my family.

The points most worthy of notice in this extract are these:

First. Comparison between legalized monogamy and "free unions."

Second. "Bastardy" as an objection to freedom in love.

Third. Responsibility for large families.

Fourth. Responsibility for care of children.

Our correspondent says the opportunity of living together without legal bonds is "not embraced very often" and yet the "women preferred it to marriage," in the few cases known by him.

Why did the women prefer illegal marriage to the legal sort?

Was it not because the masculine partner was put on his good behavior, and knew he must continue the ethics of courtship after he began living with his lover, and does not this tell us also why "they lived together till death parted them," instead of seeking separation through the divorce courts, as so many legally married couples do?

A little story just here is in point. It was told me by a lady lawyer in good standing, in the capital of Kansas. She knew the parties in question and said, "you can make what use you choose of the facts."

In a western town, where people did pretty much as they pleased, a man named Jones led a reckless and "dissipated" life until he fell under the influence of a woman of the "demimonde," called Madame Smith. They began living together and the daily lives of both became much improved. Jones was no longer the terror of the town but a quiet and useful citizen, and his partner a well-behaved and reputable home-keeper. Thus they lived and prospered for several years till in one of the periodic "devastations," or psychic epidemics known as "religious revivals," they both "got religion and joined the church." Being now church members they must marry—of course; and marry they did, with the result that inside of six months they were separated, having quarreled, fought and returned each to the reckless and worse than useless life they had lived before they met.

My lady informant said for herself she preferred legal marriage. Why, she did not say, but looking for causes the reason is obvious enough. As a lawyer it was to her advantage to have many laws on the statute book, and the more irrational and invasive the laws the better for the lawyer, because without a lawyer the unlearned and unsophisticated citizen cannot know how to defend himself.

But a more important reason is this: The ruling classes, that is, the officials of church and state, will allow no man, and especially no woman to openly and avowedly antagonize the marriage institution. To be a heretic in regard to marriage is incomparably more dangerous to political, social and financial success than it is to be a heretic in religion, in politics, in finance or economics.

* * *

And why so very dangerous to oppose Institutional Marriage?

Again the answer is plain to be seen. In order that the ruling classes may have a sure hold on their positions and an easy time generally, they must be able to show that the masses of people are not able to rule themselves.

This means that the masses must be—as compared to themselves—weak, imbecile, intellectually and morally. The priest, the judge and the legislator must be able to point to the depravity, the sinfulness, the viciousness and the criminality of the average man and woman, the "natural" man and woman, and these ruling powers are shrewd enough to see that it is MARRIAGE—Institutional Marriage, canon law marriage, indissoluble marriage, that furnishes a perennial supply of material to prove their claim that the masses of people are not able to govern themselves.

But more of this under another head.

"POINTED TO AS BASTARDS."

From time immemorial the terms "bastard" and "bastardy" have been used as whips by church state rulers, the archists, to hold woman in subjection and to drive the masses of people into the fold of matrimony, just as the words, "infidel," "atheist," "freethinker," "skeptic," "miscreant" (misbeliever) etc., have been the whips to drive people into the church. But from Shakespere's time to the present—and doubtless long before the time of Shakespere—it has been known that, as a rule, "bastards" are brighter in mind and superior every way to the "legitimates," so much so that when a genius of any sort appears in a family of mediocre children the neighbors wonder who can be the father thereof.

But, as time wears on, the old whips, bogies and scarecrows of Archists in church and state, are gradually losing their terrors. The laity, the common people, the unprivileged masses, are slowly finding out that the words infidel,

atheist, anarchist, bastard, etc., etc., have no such meanings as our power-loving, our cunning and unscrupulous rulers and their pliant tools, the publishers of daily papers, would have us believe, and hence we may reasonably expect that the time is not far distant when children at school will no longer point the finger of scorn at the free-born child, just as they now no longer voice the hatred of their parents towards their non-church-going neighbors by calling the children of these by such epithets as "little infidels," "young atheists," etc.

* * *

It should not be forgotten, however, that the fact alone that the mother is unmarried does not mean that her child is or will be born well, nor that it is a test case of free motherhood. Often it means the very opposite. So limited is the right of choice on the part of the prospective free mother, so easily victimized is she by the hypnotic power of sensuous men, and so sensitive to the scorn of "respectable" women, not to speak of financial dependence, that the wonder is that the child of the unmarried mother is not generally, if not always, inferior to children born in wedlock.

To make a fair comparison between free motherhood on the one hand, and married or enslaved motherhood on the other, social conditions—laws, customs and prejudices, must be wholly changed from what they now are.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR LARGE FAMILIES.

The "ten children" to one mother is significant, terribly significant of the married mother's enslavement, and at the same time her importance in the social, religious, political and economic systems that require the many to serve as hewers of wood, drawers of water, and also as lunatics, imbeciles to fill asylums, and as morally and intellectually inferior and weak, so that there shall never be lacking a good supply of candidates for penitentiaries and houses of correction.

Without such supply it would be impossible for the archistic leaders of human society to point to such specimens as Czolgosz, Guiteau, Prendergast and the thousands and millions of petty thieves, burglars, tramps and "ne'er-do-weels," as proof that government of man by man is necessary, is indispensable, and that therefore the Anarchistic theory at its best, is wholly impracticable, and would result in social chaos and ruin.

"Free Unions" do not produce a swarm of children, such as the husband and father, in the above instance, was compelled to abandon "in order to get a little peace." The free mother owns her body, her bed and the room occupied by her bed, and she admits no one to her room and bed as a matter of right, or of ownership.

This fact alone accounts for much of the disparity in the size of families of married and unmarried couples. I once asked the overseer of the poor, in Topeka, Kansas, why it is that the poor have large families while the rich have few children. His reply, in substance, was this:

"The poor have few sources of pleasure, of recreation or gratification, and hence they very naturally indulge to excess in the gratification of the reproductive appetite or instinct, and the temptation is always present. The rich can afford the entertainment of clubs, the opera, summer vacations etc., and when at home, husband and wife usually sleep in separate rooms and beds, whereas the poor man and wife have but one sleeping room and bed."

A Chicago lawyer in speaking of his efforts to help the poor gave this as a typical case: "I told the father of many children that on one condition I would interest myself in his and their behalf, namely, that there shall be no more additions to the family. The promise was readily given, and with my help and the work I procured for him the prospects of the prolific couple were soon much improved; but before the first year was gone a new arrival claimed a share of the husband and father's earnings.

"'How is this,' said I. 'Did you not promise there should be no more mouths to feed?'

"'Yes,' said he, 'but the fact is, the cold weather compelled us to sleep together to keep warm."

* * *

While as a man and philanthropist this lawyer discouraged over-production of children, as a member of the governing class his interests lay in the opposite direction. Hence early marriages and large families are constantly encouraged by both church and state authorities. Hence the pensioning of parents of exceptionally large families, as in some countries; also the custom of sending royal presents to the mothers of triplets or quadruplets, as reward for diligence in adding to the census rolls. Only a few weeks ago the mother of quadruplets here in Chicago, was made the recipient of many hundreds of dollars, and of much sympathetic, eulogistic notoriety, from rich and poor alike.

Numbers, numbers!—quantity, quantity, not superior quality, of population, is the goal sought for, the necessary condition and foundation upon which our archistic and capitalistic human society is based, and this fact, more than anything else, explains the unanimity with which the archistic religious and political organs oppose the freedom of woman, the self-ownership of woman, and clamor for more stringent divorce laws. Freedom in love—"the social side of Anarchism," means an end to the archistic privileges of the present leaders, the drones and parasites of the great human hive.

* * *

As I see it, then, the cure for the evil of large families must come through freedom of motherhood, and with freedom of motherhood must come RESPONSIBILITY of motherhood for the SIZE of the family. Robert G. Ingersoll was right when, in the last and greatest speech of his life, he said:

"There is but one hope. Science, the only savior of mankind, must make woman the mistress of herself; must put it into the power of woman to say whether she shall become a mother or not"—and having the power and the right to choose or to refuse, woman must be held RESPONSIBLE—by an enlightened public conscience, NOT by laws, written or unwritten, for the manner in which she exercises that right and power, the most tremendously important of all human rights, powers, duties, functions, involving responsibilities.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR CARE OF CHILDREN.

Law and custom make man the head of the family, the ruler of and provider for both woman and child, or children. Hence to desert wife and children is reckoned more than a misdemeanor; it is held to be a crime, than which few offenses are more heinous. Hence also to defend or excuse the deserter of wife and children is to invite the condemnation, the enmity and hate of all who up-hold our present political and societary institutions, based as they all are upon Institutional Marriage. But let us see:

If the husband and father is the head of the house, th ruler of the house and of its inmates, and if upon his shoulders rests the responsibility for support of the children and of their mother—especially during the child

bearing and child-rearing years of her life, is it not clear that just here is the logical reason for the subordination of woman to man in the realm of reproduction? that is, in the sex-life, the sex-power and functions of woman?

If then, woman is ever to be freed from sex-slavery, is not the first step, the first logical step, in her emancipation the removal of man's plea or claim that upon him rests the responsibility for her support? including the support of her children during gestation and early infancy?

Consider carefully, please, kind reader, before condemning. As I have often heard R. G. Ingersoll iterate and reiterate, "Let us be honest, let us be just—" and I venture to add,

LET US BE LOGICAL—RATIONAL.

When nature permits masculine man to gestate and give birth to a child, then he can logically claim the right of ownership and control of that child, and also the right to care for it until it can care for itself—all for the same reason that he claims the right to own, control and care for his own personal organism. Rights and duties are commensurable; they run parallel, or should so run, and therefore when man shall have acquired the right to own and control a child in nature's way, then and not till then will the duty of caring for that child devolve upon him—logically, naturally, rationally, devolve upon him.

That this reasoning and its conclusion will seem cold, hard and cruel to many readers I have not the slightest doubt, but we all remember, doubtless, how cold and hard and cruel it seemed to part with many of the superstitious and illogical notions of our early childhood. For one I am not in the least afraid to trust to

LOVE IN FREEDOM,

for the care and maintenance of children. Masculine man can be trusted to do his part, as well as woman hers. When womanhood awakes in the "Land of Freedom," manhood will awaken, also, and the new man, the really free and manly man, will find his highest pleasure, his deepest and truest satisfaction in helping the woman he loves—the WOMEN he loves, if perchance he be a "pluralist" in love—to care for HER child or children, without the slightest idea that such help gives him a claim upon the person or service of the woman, or women—without expectation of REWARD of any kind except that which comes with the labor of love itself. He will feel and know that

> "Love is life's end, an end yet never ending—
> Love's life's reward, rewarded in rewarding."

Herein, as elsewhere, "the letter [of the law] killeth; it is the spirit [of love] that maketh alive," paraphrasing the words of Paul.

By man's law the care of children has been made man's duty, man's responsibility. In all the past this law has been more or less a dead letter; nay, worse—it has been a fetter, a handicap, instead of a help to human progress. Remove the fetter, take off the handicap. No law but that of love is needed between woman and man, between child and man.

In the family, as in all other departments of associative life it holds good that

> "If men relied on love to guide
> The world would be the better for it."

"But where is this 'Land of Freedom,' and how are we to get there"? it will doubtless be asked.

As yet the Land of Freedom exists only as a prophecy, a mental concept, in the minds of the few. But this is nature's way. First the ideal, then the actual, the visible, the practical. As aids or pointers for those of our readers who are discontented with the present regime, and who would be glad to help to inaugurate the reign of freedom and justice, I will venture to name the writings of Leo Tolstoi, the grand old Russian thinker and iconoclast whose revolutionary ideas, and work among the poor peasants of his own country have caused his excommunication by the national church, and the threat of banishment by order of the Czar.

Also I would recommend a little paper published at Home, Washington, called "Discontent," which paper is the organ of a band of workers for freedom and justice on all lines, and who are trying to open the way for their practicalization on the Pacific Coast of the United States. The publishers of this paper are now under arrest for their radical utterances, as told elsewhere in this issue.

Now is a good time for the friends of progress everywhere to show their colors by sending for the paper "Discontent"—only fifty cents per year,—and also for some of the radical pamphlets and books sold by the same publishers, showing the road to the land of freedom. M. HARMAN.

VARIOUS VOICES.

E. H., New York:—For the inclosed dollar kindly send me a copy of your Autobiography if you get it out; if not keep the money anyway. It is refreshing to read your comments after the awful rot of the daily press.

Elisha and Louisa Crawford, Orchard, Ia.:—We have been subscribers to your paper for years, and though we are very old, we have tried in every way to interest the people of our community in Lucifer and human freedom which Lucifer advocates, and to secure new subscribers. We send $1 to add to our subscription, and fifty cents for your distribution fund. We anticipate much pleasure in reading the Life of Moses Harman.

Geo. C. Brooks, Newark, N. J.:—I have read with interest your editorial "The Lesson of the Hour" and am surprised at your claiming that Czolgosz was not an Anarchist. Surely the the man's own statement points to the contrary and his intelligence and philosophy serve to prove the statement. Perhaps we shall soon hear that Most and Goldman are not Anarchists, should they follow their own teachings If there is one thing more to my disgust than the white-washing of a noble statesman is white-washing his murderer.

[Well, let us see: Suppose that instead of calling himself an Anarchist, Czolgosz had called himself a Christian of the "non-resistant" type—"resist not evil etc.," would not Friend Brooks say that the act of the assassin belied his words? Anarchy—logical and philosophic, seeks the destruction of *rulership*, not of rulers. Philosophy and experience both teach that to kill rulers and thus make martyrs of them, is the surest way to defeat the purpose of Anarchy, the surest way to strengthen and perpetuate the despotism of man over his fellowman.

To speak of the "intelligence and philosophy" of the poor miserable wretch who now cowers and moans in the death ward at Auburn prison, is a travesty on language. It now transpires that Czolgosz was born and reared in the bosom of the Catholic church; his murderous act shows him to be a good Catholic, a logical Christian—"Without the shedding of blood there is no remission." Of all the great religions of the world the Christian, and especially the Roman Catholic, is the most consistently and uniformly bloody. Anarchism is a philosophy, not a religion. Philosophy is love and wisdom. Love and wisdom are the opposite of hate and revenge, and therefore has no use for bloodshed. M. H.]

Free Society.

No decision has been received from Washington by the publishers of "Free Society," but they expect to be able to send out the two issues of their paper that are now ready. Meantime they can attend to correspondence and fill orders for books. Address A. Isaak, 515 Carroll avenue, Chicago.

American Soldiers and Their $5 Filipino Wives.

As an illustration of the civilizing example offered the conquered Filipinos the following, taken from "Unity," is interesting:

The "Advocate of Peace" is responsible for this quotation, taken from the words of Corporal Diffenderfer, whose home and friends are at West Chester, Penn. He was attached to the Forty-Fourth Regiment, which was situated in the Isle of Panay in the Philippine Archipelago. He said: "There was a somewhat remarkable scene when we left for home on account of the wives which many of the soldiers had taken to themselves while on the island. The women over there are purchased for from $5 each upward, and nearly every soldier has one. When we left it was impossible for the men to bring them along, but when we arrived at the port from which we sailed it was found that one of the governors of a province had sent about one hundred of the wives to the port, and every one of them wanted to come along. There was no end of trouble until the matter was adjusted by the officers, who persuaded the women to remain at home." We print the above quotation in all its barren hideousness. If it is not true it should be promptly denied in the most efficient and official manner. The army ought not to rest under such an imputation if it be false. If it is true then again it deserves publicity, that the American people may understand the horrible demoralizations that follow an army, particularly when it becomes resident among a foreign and presumably an inferior people. Such facts as these have become so patent and of such long standing in connection with the English army in India that they have become the available stock in trade in the Kipling class of literature. Is the army of the United States, which has an indefinite period of service before it among Asiatic peoples, to follow in the same line of degradation?

Press-Writers' Notes, No. 9.

September 8 Pennsylvania Grit (Williamsport, Pa.) Mrs. Ida C. Craddock wins first prize for the best letter published in that issue, her theme was The Demand for Divorces; a Chicago Press-Writer resents an injustice to Ingersoll in the same paper. New Christianity (Ithaca, New York), Bolton Hall writes on Christianity.

September 9. Traveler, John B, Barnes under the caption Mysteries of the Universe tells "Truth" some things we do not know. The Spokesman Review (Spokane, Wash.), prints a column from the pen of Olans Jeldness commending D. Webster Groh and the writer and at the same time pours a broadside into the Rev. Giboney.

September 10, Traveler, Aurin F. Hill describes how penal institutions are a "school of crime." Bulletin (Phil.), J. M. Gilbert, God and Science; G. L. Gullickson, Christianity and Advancement; John J. Fleming, "Lack of Newness."

September 11. Traveler, J. C. Barnes discourses on the evil of Selfishness; Bulletin (Phil.), John J. Fleming writes on Pride and Piety. Democrat (Monson, Iowa), prints a column from Harriet M. Closz entitled "Boys, Why Don't You Be Good"—an answer to the editor's "Girls, Why Don't You Be Good."

September 12. Traveler, D. Webster Groh, explains why he opposes Christianity; Weekly Enquirer (Cincinnati), Francis B. Livesey writes a good one on the Mountebank Clergy; Albert P. Lewis muses in verse on the "Whence and Wherefore." Bulletin (Phil.), a Chicago Press-Writer has a good one on Foreign Missions; G. L. Gullickson deals with the Adam and Eve story, while William C. Crawford's topic is After Death, What? Baltimore (Md.) World, Francis B. Livesey writes on the case of Czolgosz, entitled Schools Breed Assassins.

September 13. Traveler Charles A. Osborn gets after the uniform divorce law bigots with a fine letter; Kent C. Perry's theme is "Iufant Damnation;" John B. Barnes has a round with E. H. J. on a personal matter and Chas. D. McBride defends the Press-Writers' Association from the same writer's attack. Bulletin (Phil.) Chas. A. Osborn discusses the much abused word Morality. Boston Post, H. A. Libbey, Dorchester Wants Transfers, a demand on Boston trolley car management.

September 14. Cantonsville (Md.) Argus, Francis B. Livesey has two letters one entitled "Libraries and Carnegie," the other "A Peoples' Newspaper." Pioneer Press (Martinsburg W. Va), Aurin F. Hill gives Old Side Methodist some points on Spiritualism, and Francis B. Livesey writes on the Buffalo shooting and educational matters.

Dorchester, Mass. A. C. ARMSTRONG.

THE PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL for October contains a tribute to the late President, with portraits of Mr. McKinley, his mother, and Mrs. McKinley, the last article written by Professor L. G. Janes, on "The Home as a Social Factor." The article on The People of Note contains a sketch and portrait of Sir John Stainer, by Mr. D. T. Elliott. Dr. Holbrook gives some valuable advice on health. The Irish character is discussed by J. A. Fowler, illustrated by portraits of Sir Thomas Lipton, Lord General Kitchener, and Patrick Henry. The editorials contain a criticism on Czolgosz with portrait.

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